

Message Text

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ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-14 INR-05 CIAE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00

DODE-00 EUR-08 PRS-01 PA-01 IO-06 EB-04 H-01 L-01

PM-03 SP-02 /058 W

-----082485 070750Z /14

R 070124Z JUL 77

FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8125

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 1350

NOFORN

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PINT CH

SUBJ: CENTRAL LEADERSHIP REPORTEDLY STILL SPLIT OVER TENG

REF: PEKING 592

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. ACCORDING TO ALBANIAN SOURCE, THE PRC LEADERSHIP REMAINS SERIOUSLY DIVIDED OVER THE ISSUE OF TENG, CONTENT AND TIMING OF NATIONAL MEETINGS, AND ECONOMIC PRIORITIES. YEH CHIEN-YING AND LI HSIEN-NIEN ALLEGEDLY ARE HOLDING OUT FOR PROMOT RETURN OF TENG TO ALL PREVIOUS POSTS; HUA KUO-FENG SUPPOSEDLY INCURRED THEIR WRATH BY INSISTING ON A "CONSTITUTIONAL" REHABILITATION -- BY FORMAL DECISION OF PARTY AND STAGE CONGRESSES. YEH AND LI ALSO REPORTEDLY OPPOSE THE BEHIND THE SCENES MACHINATIONS OF HUA IN SELECTING DELEGATES TO THE CONGRESSES. FINALLY, YEH AND LI ARE SAID TO FAVOR GREATER ATTENTION TO INDUSTRY WHILE HUA AND HIS ALLIES MAINTAIN THE ORTHODOX LINE THAT AGRICULTURE SHOULD BE GIVEN PRIORITY. ALL OF THESE DIVISIONS, THE ALBANIAN SOURCE ASSERTS, PRECLUDED AGREEMENT ON A PARTY DAY EDITORIAL THIS YEAR. WE ARE INCLINED TO BUY THE ALBANIAN ASSESSMENT
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OF THE LINES OF CLEAVAGE IN THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP BUT DOUBT THAT SUCH DIFFERENCES WOULD HAVE PREVENTED PUBLICATION OF A PRO FORMA EDITORIAL. WE ALSO DOUBT THAT THE ALBANIANS, GIVEN THE CURRENT STATE OF RELATIONS WITH THE PRC, WOULD BE PARTICULARLY WELL CLUED IN ON CENTRAL LEADERSHIP DIFFERENCES.
END SUMMARY.

2. BRITISH AND FRENCH EMBOFFS HAVE TOLD US SEPARATE VERSIONS OF THE ALBANIAN EXPLANATION FOR NONOBSERVANCE OF PARTY DAY (JULY 1) THIS YEAR. (COMMENT: THE ULTIMATE SOURCE IN BOTH CASES IS ALBANIAN MINISTER-COUNSELOR KROI WHO ATTRIBUTES HIS INFORMATION TO CHINESE. KROI'S ACCOUNT OF CENTRAL WRANGLING OVER TENG'S REINSTATEMENT LAST MARCH AS REPORTED IN REFTEL WAS REASONABLY ACCURATE IN RETROSPECT. WE REPORT THE LATEST TALE FROM KROI WITH SOME RESERVATIONS). DEEM ASKED TO EXPLAIN THE NO PUBLICATION OF A PARTY DAY EDITORIAL THIS YEAR (AND INDEED THE NONOBSERVANCE IN PEKING OF THE EVENT), KROI INDICATED THAT THE POLITBURO REMAINS SERIOUSLY DIVIDED OVER TENG, OVER SELECTION OF DELEGATES TO FORTHCOMING CONGRESSES, OVER THE AGENDA OF THE MEETINGS, AND OVER ECONOMIC PRIORITIES. THESE SAME DIVISIONS ARE REFLECTED WITHIN THE MILITARY, THUS COMPOUNDING THE PROBLEM AND MAKING DECISIONS THAT MUCH MORE DIFFICULT.

4. VICE CHAIRMAN YEH CHIEN-YING AND VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN REPORTEDLY ARE HOLDING OUT FOR PROMPT RETURN OF TENG HSIAO-PING TO ALL PREVIOUS POSTS. HUA'S RESISTANCE -- AND PARTICULARLY HIS INSISTENCE THAT TENG SHOULD RETURN IN A "CONSTITUTIONAL" DECISION BY PARTY CONGRESS AND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS -- HAS ANGERED THE PAIR AND DEEPLY DIVIDED THE POLITBURO. YEH AND LI ALLEGEDLY HAVE ALSO SPOKEN CONFIDENTIAL

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OUT AGAINST (UNSPECIFIED) BEHIND THE SCENES MACHINATIONS BY HUA IN SELECTION OF DELEGATES TO THE VARIOUS CONGRESSES.

5. FINALLY, EH AND LI ARE SAID TO FAVOR GREATER ATTENTION TO INDUSTRY WHILE HUA HAS ADHERED TO THE ORTHODOX MAOIST VIEWPOINT THAT AGRICULTURE SHOULD BE GIVEN PRIORITY.

6. THE ALBANIDC ACCOUNT TAKES NOTE OF SERIOUS DIVISIONS WITHIN THE MILITARY BUT DOES NOT IDENTIFY THE PRINCIPAL ANTAGONISTS.

7. ACCORDING TO JAPANESE NEWSMEN, A RECENT JAPANESE DELEGATION WAS INFORMED BY CHINESE OFFICIALS THAT THE PARTY CONGRESS HAD BEEN "DELAYED".

8. COMMENT: DESPITE THE ACCURACY OF KROI'S ACCOUNT OF THE CENTRAL WORK CONFERENCE LAST MARCH (REFTEL), WE TAKE THIS STORY WITH A GRAIN OF SALT ON SEVERAL COUNTS:

--IT MERELY EXTRAPOLATES FROM THE INFORMATION OF LAST MARCH; THE ONLY NEW FEATURE IS THE ALLEGED FRICTION BETWEEN HEY/LI AND HUA OVER DELEGATE SELECTION, WHICH IS HIGHLY PLAUSIBLE IF ONE ACCEPTS THE ALBANIAN ACCOUNT OF THE WRANGLING IN MARCH.

WE SEE NO REASON WHY SUCH DIVISIONS WOULD PRECLUDE
PUBLICATION OF A PARTY DAY EDITORIAL (THE REGIME MANAGED
ONE LAST YEAR AT THE HEIGHT OF INFIGHTING BETWEEN THE
GANG OF FOUR AND THEIR OPPONENTS).

WE SUSPECT THAT THE ALBANIANS, WHOSE RELATIONS WITH THE
CHINESE HAVE DETERIORATED MARKEDLY SINCE THE FALL OF THE
GANG OF FOUR, MAY BE GUILTY OF SPREADING SOUR-GRAPES
STORIES (OR CONVERSELY ATTEMPTING TO CONVINCE OUTSIDERS
THAT THEY ARE AS CLUED IN AS EVER DESPITE EVIDENCE TO THE CONTRARY).
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLITICAL STABILITY, PARTY DISSENSION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 07-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PEKING01350
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770240-1145
Format: TEL
From: PEKING
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770782/aaaactqu.tel
Line Count: 126
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: aa59a66f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS, NOFORN
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS, NOFORN
Reference: 77 PEKING 592
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1937128
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CENTRAL LEADERSHIP REPORTEDLY STILL SPLIT OVER TENG
TAGS: PINT, CH, (TENG HSIAO-PING)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/aa59a66f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009